The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * * * * therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

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WHOLE NO. 135.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,

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...OM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

...letter, though addressed to the ...e Twelfth Congressional District ..., is of so much importance to ev... the United States, that we lose no ... before our readers. It will add ...e crown of honor which sparkles ...t its illustrious author. We copy ... Patriot.—*Liberator.*

...nts of the Twelfth Congressional ...he Commonwealth of Massachu...

...ITIZENS:—On the 23d of August, ...t Convention of Delegates from ... was constituting the District was ...were adopted resolutions of the fol...

...the right of the people to petition. ...ridgment of it by Congress is a vi... ...nstitution, and ought to be resisted

3. That the Gag Resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States of 18th of January, 1837, was a most flagrant violation of the constitution.

4. A resolution, approving my previous course in the Representative of the District, in persisting in presenting petitions, and demanding the action of the House upon them, with a pledge of support to sustain me in that course.

5. A resolution, requesting the Representative of the District in Congress to oppose any attempt that body at the annexation of Texas to the United States.

6. That such an anuexation would weaken, instead of strengthening, in a military point of view, the defence of the Union.

7. The appointment of a Committee to address the citizens of the other Congressional Districts of the state.

8. That a copy of the above resolutions be presented to the Representative of the District, *requesting his aid or co-operation* in furtherance of the views of his constituents, as contained in the foregoing resolutions.

Since the day of the adoption of these resolutions, a session has been held of the Legislature of the Commonwealth, at which resolutions respecting the right of the people to petition—earnestly approving the Gag resolutions of the House of Representatives of the United States, and solemnly resisting against the annexation of Texas to this Union, entirely conformable to the above resolutions of the District Convention, were adopted by large majorities in both branches of the Legislature,

and in the same interval have been held two sessions of the Congress of the United States.

An impartial and unprejudiced stranger looking at the condition of this Union, as affected by all the external circumstances not under our own control, would naturally imagine that during this period we have been the most prosperous and happy people on the face of the earth. We have yielded rich and uninterrupted profusion all the bounties of Providence. The earth has rewarded the treasure of her annual productions in ... The ocean has been propitious to the ... and expansion of our commerce, and liberal ... contributions of nourishment and of light ... from the bosom of the deep. Genial suns ... and showers have ripened our harvests, ... the labors of the husbandman have been ... with the marrow and fatness of the land. ... of heaven has been wafted in balmy breezes ... our shores. No convulsion of nature ... ruin or even alarm over any portion of ... nation. No earthquake, no tornado, no ... has desolated or afflicted our dwellings; ... visitations of heaven have been no other ... dispensations of good and varieties of bles...

... dispositions of our brothers of the human ... associated in other communities, but con... us by the ties of commercial inter... We also been uncommonly favorable to ... We have been at peace with all mankind, ... is that peace has been violated, interrupted, ... hastened by our own wrong—for with ... confusion of face, but at the imperious ... South, I must confess that our treatment ... men has neither corresponded with ... sentiment of us, nor with the precept of the ... which embraces the whole duty of man to ... to do unto others as we would that ... would do unto us—our wrongs to the colored ... Africa, and of this continent, have indeed ... strong standing; but in these latter days they ... aggravated beyond measure. To *repair* ... action of our fathers towards both these ra... from the day of the Declaration of Independence the conscience of the good and the ... the wise rulers of the land. Washington's own example in the testamentary dispositions of his own property—Jefferson, by the unhesitating ... sions of his own mind, by unanswerable ... and eloquent persuasion, addressed ... assiduously throughout a long life to the rea... feelings of his countrymen, had done ... self-evident principles which the nation ... had been the first to proclaim. Emancipation ... emancipation was the lesson ... had urged upon their cotemporaries, ... as transcendant and irremissible ... children of the present age. Instead ... have we seen! what see we now? ... of slaveholding braggarts of freedom, ... since the laws of nature and of nature's ... slavery where it had been existing, ... vainly dreaming to make it eternal—the sacred name of liberty, constitutions ... interdicting to the legislative authority that most blessed of all human powers of giving liberty to the slave!—... states urging upon their legislatures ... exercise of the freedom of speech, to ... right of the slave to freedom, felony ... of clergy. Ministers of the gospel, ... the parable of the good Samaritan, ... looking at the bleeding victim of the ... and passing on the other side!—... perverting the pages of the sacred ... into a code of slavery the very word of God! Philosophers, like the sophists of ancient Greece, pulverized by the sober sense of Socrates, elaborating theories of *Moral Slavery* from the Alembics of a sugar plantation, and vaporing about lofty sentiment and generous benevolence, to be learned from the hereditary bondage of man to man! Infuriated mobs, murdering the peaceful minister of Christ, for the purpose of extinguishing the light of a printing press, and burning with unhallowed fire the Hall of Freedom, the Orphan's School, and the church devoted to the worship of God! And last of all, both Houses of Congress turning a deaf ear to hundreds of thousands of petitioners, and quibbling away their duty to read, and listen, and consider, in doubtful disputations, whether they shall receive, or receiving, refuse to read or hear the complaints and prayers of their fellow citizens and fellow men!

And the red man of the forest! the indigenous inhabitant of the Western hemisphere! the primitive possessor of our native soil! Dispossessed not without reason, but perhaps without adequate compensation, by our forefathers of his inheritance, bounded only by the oceans and the lakes; straitened in his hunting grounds, by the necessary and unavoidable progress of civilization and tillage, there was yet ample room left him in the immeasurable regions of the South and West for his continual enjoyment of the hunter state, and even for his own transformation into a tenant of the soil, and a tiller of the ground. To this beneficent change of his condition, all the labors, and all the exertions of Washington and of Jefferson had been devoted. The remnants of his allodial right, rescued from the grasp of the Anglo-Saxon planter and farmer, had been secured to him at the price of his surrender of all the rest, by solemn treaties pledging the faith of the nation, and by laws interdicting upon severe penalties the intrusion of the white man upon his domain. In contempt of those treaties, in defiance of those laws, the sovereign state of Georgia extended her jurisdiction over those Indian lands, and lavished in lottery tickets to her people, the cultivated fields, the growing harvests, and the furnished dwellings of the Cherokee; imprisoned in a dungeon the pious missionaries, preaching among them the gospel of Christ, and set at naught the solemn injunction of the Supreme Court of the United States pronouncing this licensed robbery, alike lawless and unconstitutional.

And what in this emergency was the conduct of the Executive Administration of this Union? Not content with truckling to the usurpations of Georgia, it made itself instrumental to the consummation of her wrong. Not content with abandoning the Indians to their hopeless fate, and leaving unexecuted the sentence of the laws, it forced by an admixture of fraud and violence, upon the whole Cherokee nation, a mock treaty of New Echota, pretending to bind the whole nation to a compact concluded with less than three hundred unauthorized individuals. And when fifteen thousand of this cheated and plundered people complained of this in the humble attitude of petitioners to Congress for redress, and when thousands upon thousands of petitioners among our own people joined in supplications with them to avert this overwhelming ruin, and redeem our violated faith, a momentary semblance of attention was given to their claims by a refusal to lay them on the table, carried by a majority of one vote, yet the next day that vote was changed; a reconsideration was moved and carried, and by a vote of yeas and nays, at the vote of a member from Georgia, the whole subject was laid upon the table.

In the treatment of the African and native American races, we have thus subverted the maxims, and degenerated from the virtues of our fathers; and for all this, the last and present administrations are emphatically responsible. The political system of Washington and of Jefferson was merciful to the African, and liberal to the native American race. Eternal slavery for mercy, extermination for liberality, were the substitutes of the last administration; and the present Chief Magistrate can discern no path to glory but in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor.

Upon these subjects, however, as well as upon the senseless and absurd experiments of the administration to redeem themselves and not the people from other experiments equally senseless and absurd of the illustrious predecessor, I have been called to act, at the recent sessions of Congress, upon my own discretion, without the benefit of instruction or advice from your Convention of Delegates. In the transactions concerning our Indian Affairs, and in those relating to the currency and the keeping of the public monies, when there was neither currency to regulate nor public monies to keep, I have taken but little active part; knowing that all resistance to the relentless system of expulsion, or attempt to avert the doom of the Southern Indians, would be vain. That all inquiries into the wasteful expenditures and glaring enormities of the Florida war would be stifled or perverted into servile approbation of imposture by committees appointed by a Tennessean Speaker, and that other members of the House of great ability and excellent principles, with a more minute and comprehensive knowledge of the subject than I could possess, took a deep interest in it, and would do, as they did, all that man could do, to mitigate the predetermined fate of the Indian tribes, under a northern administration with southern principles.

The prostration of the Divorce, or the Sub-Treasuries, or the Independent Treasury, as in its harlequin transformations it was variously nicknamed—that treaty of peace and alliance between southern nullification and northern pro-slavery, as it should have been named, was also in able hands. Slavery—the perpetuation and propagation of the slave-trade, was at the bottom of it all. The southern opposition to a national bank, ministering to the venereal passions of the late President, has its root in the panic terrors and insatiate thirst of domination in the slaveholding planters of the south, once characterized by him under the name of independent farmers, as the *best part of the population.* This view of the subject was not taken in any of the debates at the two recent sessions of Congress, but it is the keystone to all the vaults, and the key to all the safes in the bill for imposing additional duties as depositories, and in all its kindred brood of abortions. The *specie* section, as it was called, the invention of southern nullification, dove-tailed into the strong box of the fire proof treasury vaults; the annual graduation of an exclusive hard money currency to furnish occupation for a new batch of official dignitaries by the name of Receivers General, was the bond of reconciliation and pledge of union between the late inflexible adversary to executive patronage, and the northern man with southern principles. It was at first rejected, but eventually accepted like a patch in a Chinese tailor's coat, because it was known that the bill could not be carried without it. The bill was carried with it at the special session, through the Senate, but in the House was postponed, to consult the constituency. The *northern* constituency manifested for it the most unequivocal symptoms of disgust and contempt. The slaveholding planters liked it but the better.

At the winter session, the bill was again produced, with the hard money section as one of its constituent parts, but after a long discussion, at the last debateable stage of the bill in the Senate, it was struck out. Thus it came to the House of Representatives, and there at its first reading was treated like an anti-slavery petition—*laid on the table.*—But towards the close of the session, it was again obtruded on the House in the shape of a bill from the committee of Ways and Means. It was then much and well debated. It was tried with the hard money section, and without it nullification and slavery were its most ardent and almost only patrons. The deadly hostility of the slaveholder to all banking credit under the name of capital, displayed itself in dissertations to prove a natural hostility between capital and labor; in stimulants to war between the capital and the labor of the north, and in instigations in the shape of predictions to the *labor* of the north to demolish by fire the marble palace in Chesnut street, as the anti-abolitionists had demolished the Pennsylvania Hall. The condition of master and slave is, by the laws of nature and of God, a state of perpetual, inextinguishable war. Deeply conscious of this, the slaveholder soothes his soul by sophistical reasonings into a belief that this same war still exists in free communities between the capitalist and the laborer. He builds up a theory that confounds poverty with slavery—and he says to the laborer of the north—you are poor, your next door neighbor is rich—you are compelled to hard labor to earn your subsistence and that of your family—you are a laborer—he is a capitalist—you are his slave—there is his banking house—go and burn it down—and I, for the sake of preventing my slaves from burning down my plantation, will put in your hand the torch to set fire to his marble palace in Chesnut street.

The slaveholder assumes it as an elementary principle of his system of policy, that the democracy of *numbers* in the free states is poor. He perceives that credit naturally and necessarily adheres to the wealthy. He is not aware that one effect of aggregating small and large sums together to form the capital of monied or industrious corporations, is to impart to the poor a participation in the profits of credit, and to break down the wall of partition between the poor and the rich. The slaveholder strives to kindle the fires of mutual envy and jealousy between the different classes of men in the communities of the free; and invokes the *labor* of the north as an auxiliary defence to the *slavery* of the south.

As an attempt to sow the seeds of discord between the freemen of the north among themselves, it was met and repelled with sober argument and indignant remonstrance. Perhaps it was right to forbear all retorted invective and scorn, upon the peculiar institutions of the south. There is, indeed, a remarkable concurrence in the representatives from all the free states, and of all parties, to spare them; the influence of which I have myself constantly felt. It was one of the principal reasons for my abstaining to take part in the debates of any of the sub-treasury bills.

I could not indeed overlook at the special session the affiliated bills for compounding with the delinquent banks, and for postponing the payment of the fourth instalment of the deposit with the states. This measure had been rendered unavoidable by the infatuation, to use no harsher term of the Secretary of the Treasury, in heaping up the deposites of the public funds in the banks of the southern and south-western states, and drawing those of the north, so that there was no fund left from which the instalment could be paid there, while it was much more than overpaid in the favorite states. The bill first proposed from the Treasury was to *repeal* in the form of postponing the instalment. When it was found that this could not be carried, a postponement to the first of January, 1839, was substituted; but an appropriation of funds which I proposed and urged was evaded, and now the law requires the payment of the instalment on the first of January next, and no preparation whatever has been made to provide the means for its payment. The deficiency of the funds is certain. Any man may judge what prospect there is of your ever obtaining the payment. The south and the south-west, in the meantime, have received much more than their share of the instalment, and they will take care to keep it. There is nothing which has more clearly exemplified the policy of the northern administration with southern principles, than this discrimination between the northern and southern states in the distribution of the public monies.

Of the other subjects which have engaged the deliberations of Congress, distinct from those specially recommended by the resolutions of your Convention, to avoid encroaching upon your patience, I shall say but little. The proceedings of the House relating to the repeated issues of ten millions of treasury notes—the total sacrifice both of every principle of popular representation and of state sovereignty in the transactions at both sessions respecting the Mississippi contested elections; the strange inconsistency, and rancorous distillation of party venom, in the protracted proceedings upon the fatal duel, where fell another northern victim, self-immolated to *the peculiar institutions of the South:* The questionable and dangerous, but perhaps necessary abandonment of the public lands to the intrusion of lawless occupancy, recommended by the president, consummated by the concurrent action of both Houses; with the approbation of respected members of our own delegation, and of which I would, therefore, speak with distrust of my own judgment; but threatening, in my apprehension, the total subversion of your admirable system of land-laws, and the final waste of *your* immense interest of property in the public domain: The portentous increase amounting almost to duplication of your *standing army*—the feeble, wavering, and time-serving policy of the administration, carried out by their managers in Congress, bearing upon all our political intercourse with Great Britain; these are all subjects of high and momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as the more pertinaciously contested questions about currency, exchanges, banking, and the custody of public monies, are either merged in the transcendant importance of the interests specially given me in charge, by the resolutions of your Convention, or sink into comparative insignificance before them.

It is known to most of you, that at the first session of the twenty-fourth Congress, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1835, a resolution, compounded of southern slavery and northern subserviency, was by the previous question screwed down upon the House of Representatives of the United States, without debate or deliberation. Its avowed object was to tranquilize the public mind on the agitating subject of slavery and the slave trade, and to suppress the swelling murmurs of public opinion, calling in the name of mercy and of humanity for the abolition of both. Its conciliatory compromise of that end, was a consent to receive and a refusal to read or consider all petitions, memorials, resolutions, or papers, relating in any manner to those subjects.

This resolution was an experiment—a repetition of that of Canute the Great, who commanded the tide of the ocean not to approach his feet. Twenty-three thousand petitioners at that session of Congress prayed for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. At the next session those petitioners had multiplied to upwards of one hundred thousand.

At the time of the first gag-resolution of the 26th of May, 1836, I had been five years a member of the House, and your representative. I had deprecated all discussion of slavery or its abolition in the House, and gave no countenance to petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. But I presented all such petitions which were committed to my charge, and moved their reference to appropriate committees, which was accordingly done without opposition. Brief and adverse reports were made by the committees to which the petitions were referred, which were received without exciting debate in the House. The prayer of the petitions was not granted, but the petitions were respectfully treated, and there was no excitement in the House or among the people at the result.

In February, 1837, a Petition from sundry inhabitants of the District of Columbia itself, for the gradual abolition of slavery and the prohibition of the slave-trade in the District, was presented by Mr. Coulter, a member from Pennsylvania.

In January, 1834, Mr. W. W. Ellsworth, a member from Connecticut, and now Governor of that State, presented petitions, signed, as he said, by more than one thousand names, of the same purport, which at his motion were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; and in recommending them to the special consideration of the Committee, he took occasion to say that he himself concurred entirely in sentiment with the petitioners.

In February, 1835, Mr. John Dickson, a member from the State of New York, presented a considerable number of petitions, one of which was from the American Anti-Slavery Society; and another signed by upwards of eight hundred women of the city of New York. Mr. Dickson moved their reference to a select Committee, and supported the motion by an eloquent and powerful speech. No answer was made to the speech, but then commenced the system of suppression. The motion of reference to a Committee, was bya vote of yeas and nays, 117 to 77, *laid on the table.* A motion to print one of the petitions was first adopted—then reconsidered, and then by 139 to 63, *laid on the table.* Till then, I had taken no active part in any of the proceedings of the House on these subjects. Nor in the session of 1835 and '36, until the report of the Committee, which was to smother at once the Right of Petition in the people, and the Freedom of Speech in the House.

I expressed my abhorrence of that Resolution at the moment of its passage; as I have done at each of its repetitions. Just at the time of its first passage, the results of the battle of San Jacinto had rendered it probable that the Texian conspiracy and insurrection would succeed in breaking off that province, and an undefined extent of territory from the Mexican Confederation. The Mexican government had abolished slavery throughout the whole republic. But the Texian insurrectionists on the 2d of March, 1836, had issued their declaration of independence, and on the 7th of the same month, had promulgated a Constitution, not only restoring slavery in all its rigor, but denying to their Congress the power to emancipate slaves, and denying to their own citizens the right of emancipating their own slaves without the consent of Congress. Nay more—as if to make a mockery of the rights of human nature, this Constitution of a sovereign and independent people, by one and the same Section, denied to their Legislature the power to prohibit the importation of slaves from the United States, and declared the same importation from any other part of the world, piracy.

The acquisition of Texas, whether by purchase, or conquest, had already become a cardinal point in the slaveholding policy of the Administration of this Union. To achieve it by purchase from Mexico had been urged upon her government to the extent of a provocation to war. To that end General Gaines had been invested with a discretionary authority to invade her territory, which he did not fail to use; while Mr. Powhattan Ellis, the Mississippian Charge d'Affairs at Mexico, was instructed to pick a quarrel with her government upon complaints and grievances of citizens of the United States engaged in commercial intercourse with that country. A more frivolous pretence, and a more wanton provocation to war, was never given between nation and nation. Even the wretched Mexican prisoner Santa Anna, was used as an instrument, and liberated from captivity to extort from his country the cession of her rights to this revolted province.

But the free people of this Union had now taken the alarm. They had been warned of their danger, and observed the progress of this tri-partite speculation of land-jobbers, slave-holders, and Texian conspirators, to breed a war with Mexico, to sustain and perpetuate the slavery supremacy of the South. At the special session of Congress numerous petitions against the annexation of Texas, to some of which many of your names were subscribed, were presented. Two of the resolutions of your Convention of delegates had made it my special duty to oppose the measure. And at the same session, multitudes of other petitions continued to pour in for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade wherever the power of Congress extends. They were all postponed to the winter session, on the ready and plausible ground that there was not time for the consideration of subjects other than those for which the special session had been called. When the winter session came, the war-trumpet was again sounded by the Message of the President against Mexico. The Texian Plenipotentiary, commissioned to solicit the annexation, had been put off with a sort of 'Return Jonathan refusal.' He had been told with solemnity of face, that there was a *doubt* of the constitutional power of Congress and the President, to accept the proposal, and moreover, that they could not think of it *now*, because it would risk a war with Mexico, and violate the sacred faith of treaties. But Mr. Jefferson had shown how a constitutional camel could be swallowed for the sake of Louisiana, by palates accustomed to strain at a gnat, and the Chairman of the late Committee of Foreign Affairs, professed his readiness and capacity to swallow another for the sake of Texas. And as to the war with Mexico, one President had told Congress, seven months before, that it would be *justifiable*, and his successor, even while alleging this pretence of war and the sacred faith of treaties, was about to tell Congress not only that he, himself, agreed with his predecessor, that war would have been justifiable the winter before, but that they, both Houses of Congress, had been of the same opinion, and that it was now not only more justifiable but indispensable, because the last magnanimous appeal to the justice and the fears of Mexico, heralded by a Courier from the Department of State, with the indulgence of one week for an answer, had totally failed.

Fellow Citizens—You shall seldom fail to detect the double-dealer, if you compare his words at different times with each other, and his words and his actions together. The professions of objection to the proposal of Mr. Mexican Hunt were false and hollow—consent and fierce desire for the seemingly repudiated connection were at the heart. Instead of a prompt, positive and final refusal, as presented by the Chairmati of the late Committee of Foreign Affairs, it was a mere flagative pregnant—a provocation to perseverance, like that of the lascivious lass in Virgil—

"Melo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri;

and so it has been understood by the Legislature of Texas, which far from being discouraged by this ostensible rebuff to their addresses, have after full deliberation, resolved not to withdraw their application.

The anti-slavery petitions, presented at the late session of Congress, were signed by not less than three hundred thousand names. One would have imagined that this was sufficient evidence of the *tranquilizing* effect of the composing draught of Pinckney Fandum. But on a motion of Mr. Slade of Vermont, that one of these petitions should be referred to a select committee with instructions to report a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the boiler of the peculiar institutions exploded. Mr. Slade, in the course of his speech to support this motion, asked emphatically the question—*'What is Slavery?'*—and he defined it with a master hand—'A compound of every wrong that man can inflict upon man.'

"They heard and were slash'd, and up they sprang
Upon the wing."

They deserted their seats in the House—they huddled together in a committee-room—sent for a reinforcement of slave-representing members of the Senate—publicly notified by one of themselves, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at the moment of the adjournment of the House, *a meeting of members from the slaveholding States*—and there, after two stormy sittings of this mongrel assembly of Senators and Representatives, they chose Mr. Patton of Virginia to present to the House, what he termed a conciliatory proposition, and after a speech laudatory to the condescension of the slaveholders, for this gentle compromise of their rights, to foreclose all answer, by calling for the previous question, and so with the next morning hour it was executed. The rules of the House were suspended—the conciliatory proposition was presented—the speech of proud and self-admiring condescension was made—and concluded with the magnanimous call for the previous question—and the previous question, and the main question, the conciliatory proposition, were carried without allowing one word of debate, by the votes of Representatives of northern and western freemen, palmed upon them by the slaveholding conventicle, to which they had not even been admitted!

And what was this condescending conciliatory proposition? It was no other than the Pinckney soporific, which, in eighteen months of time, had multiplied the Anti-Slavery petitions from twenty-three to three-hundred thousand. Its phraseology was slightly varied, and particularly by the omission of the word, *resolutions* from the classes of papers to be laid on the table, but the word *papers* was retained, and the exclusion of them all from the consideration of the House, was fortified by the addition of the words *debated* and *read* to *printed* and *referred*, from which they had been debarred by the original resolution of May, 1836.

There is no doubt that the omission of the word *resolutions*, in the new opiate of the slaveholding doctors, was intended to save the appearance of disrespect to the Legislatures of the States; but when the resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont were presented, which touched the abolition of Slavery, and the buying, selling and transferring of Slaves, the Speaker decided, that as they were PAPERS they must be *laid on the table*, under the resolution of the 21st of December, 1837, and then with singular inconsistency, he ordered or allowed them to be printed on the Journal of the House.

And thus under this resolution of the 21st of December, 1837, the petitions of three hundred thousand citizens of the United States, were, without being debated, printed, read or referred, laid on the table.

But as the petitions, memorials and papers *touching* the annexation of Texas to this Union, were not included within the resolution of the 21st of December, and yet as they came into very close contact with the abolition of Slavery, and the buying, selling and transferring of slaves, a different expedient was found necessary in dealing with them. On the 13th of December, the first day of the session upon which petitions were received, I presented the remonstrance of Nancy Ripley and two hundred and thirty-seven other women of Plymouth, against the annexation of Texas to the United States, and moved that, together with forty other petitions on the same subject, presented by me on that day—one hundred and ninety similar petitions presented by me at the special session—and several hundreds presented by my colleagues of the Massachusetts delegation, including about fifty thousand petitioners, should be referred to a select committee. The Chairman of the Committeee of Foreign Affairs immediately moved the reference to that committee. His motive for which was afterwards fully disclosed by the treatment which they received from the committee when they were referred to them by the House. It was to get them all into their hands—to keep them all till the close of the session, without looking into one of them, and then by a lumping report lay them all on the table. This was however then done by a shorter process. The question whether they should be referred to a select committee or to the committee on Foreign Affairs, raised a debate and was postponed on the ensuing day, when all the petitions, memorials and remonstrances, and both the motions for commitment, were laid on the table, by yeas and nays: the Chairman of the committee of Foreign Affairs himself voting in the affirmative.

I do not charge this as among the evidences of duplicity on the part of the administration, and certainly not on that of the Chairman of the committee. Duality of conduct is not always indicative of duplicity of purpose. The object of the Chairman of the committee, in moving the reference of the anti-Texian petitions and remonstrances to himself, and his recorded vote to lay his own motion upon the table, had obviously one and the same object, and that was the *suppression* of all discussion upon the subject in the House; and the motive for this desire of suppression could be no other than the affinity between the anti-slavery and anti-Texian memorials. He plainly saw that it would be impossible to introduce the annexation of Texas into discussion without opening the whole subject of slavery and of abolition, and he wished to build a Chinese wall around them all.

But, although he was able to accomplish this by a large majority at that early stage of the session, he was not able to carry that majority with him to its close. The proposal for the annexation of Texas to the United States, formally made by the people of that new republic, through the legislative and executive departments, had roused the attention of our own State legislatures. Ten or more of them, among which were several of the largest States in the Union, had made it a subject of earnestly contested deliberation. Five had declared in the most emphatic terms their utter aversion to the measure. Two more had expressed the feelings of their people in language not less decisive.

Four had passed resolutions favorable to the connexion, and intensely bent upon its consummation. Nor had they scrupled to avow their principal incentive to this new union—the reinforcement and perpetuation of the blessing of slavery. The resolutions of two of them, Alabama and Tennessee, had by express direction been communicated to both Houses of Congress—both contained instructions to their Senators and Representatives to promote by all suitable means the annexation, and those of Tennessee an express proposition of that measure. Although the resolutions of South Carolina had not been communicated to Congress, her Senators and Representatives were the fleetest in the race and the most ardent in the love chase for Texas. The recent conversion of most of them from the bitterest opposition to fervid devotion to the northern administration with southern principles had given them claims to consideration which could not be overlooked. The most undaunted champions of the sub-treasury in the House were three members from South Carolina; and those who persisted in general opposition to the administration, sought to propitiate their peace at home by outstripping the rest in burning zeal for the acquisition of Texas. A resolution directly to that effect was offered by Mr. Preston in the Senate, readily entertained by that body, and supported by all the eloquence for which that gentleman is so eminently distinguished. In the House, the same resolution, offered by Mr. Waddy Thompson, was at first warily discarded, but he and all his colleagues insisted perseveringly upon the discussion. The members from Alabama and Tennessee, unanimous for the *gag*, upon all papers, 'touching the abolition of slavery or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves,' still panted for a discussion in favor of the annexation of Texas. The majority for the suppression of the freedom of debate was thus throughout the session dwindling into a minority, so far as concerned the annexation of Texas. The slaveholding portion of the committee of Foreign Affairs were left in the lurch; the Demosthenes of previous questions, and the Cicero of layings on the table were outvoted, as had been previously sculed out of the House. It had been *promised* to one of the South Carolina members, and he had given me notice of it a week or ten days before the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was presented.

The occasion for the discussion was given by that report. The committee had never looked into one of the resolutions of the State legislatures, or of the vast multitudes of petitions, memorials and remonstrances which had been referred to them by the House. They had not even taken them into consideration, and their report to lay them all on the table, revealed the purpose for which the Chairman at the commencemept of the session had urged the refereuce of them to that committee.

The discussion was opened by the motion of Mr. Cushing, a member of the minority of the committee, to re-commit the Report with instructions. Mr. Thompson of South Carolina moved an amendment to the instructions, and I moved an amendment to that amendment, which put me in possession of the floor. A call for the previous question, and a motion to lay the whole subject on the table, were voted down by the majority of the House, and the door of free debate thrice closed in three successive years, in the Representative Hall of the American people, was unlocked and opened to the voice of freedom; God grant, never to be closed again.

By the rules for the transaction of business in the House, the debate was confined to the first hour of the morning, after the reading of the Journal. In courtesy to many of the members who had occasional motions of urgency to make, I yielded from day to day parts of this morning hour, to which I was entitled; but no such indulgence was extended to me. The expiration of the hour was watched with the impatience of a lover waiting the appointed time, and the tick of the clock was the signal to the call for the orders of the day. Once only I requested the favor of five minutes to finish the reading of a paper—it was tacitly granted but soon withdrawn by another call for the orders, and I was turned over to another day to finish the reading of the paper.

As the close of the session drew near, the three slaveholding members of the committee, with whom I had taken issue on the duties of the committee and of the House to petitioners, and the right of petition, as exercised by men or women, became very earnest for an opportunity to answer me. Several of the other members from South Carolina manifested the same desire. I was scarcely less anxious than themselves that the free people throughout this Union, and the friends of freedom throughout the civilized world, should be favored with the full developement of their principles. I wished especially that the tenets of the new school of servile philosophy, casually disclosed at one of the interruptions to which I was incessantly subjected, should be more explicitly avowed and more thoroughly unfolded. The patriarchal theory of Sir Robert Filmer, and the Leviathan of Hobbes, are not more abhorrent to the doctrines of Algernon Sidney and John Locke, than these slave-begotten theories of the rights of man to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. But on the 23d of June, im-

mediately after arresting me in the midst of my discourse, and confirming the decision of the Speaker that I was out of order for irrelevance, those gentlemen themselves had precipitated a decision of the House to adjourn on the 9th of July instead of one week later, upon the purpose avowed by the mover of the decision to abridge the time of the debate, upon which I had possession of the floor. They had now opportunity to meditate upon the consequences of their system of suppression in all free debate in the House. Whether they will return to it again at the ensuing session of Congress will be for themselves to determine. They may close the doors of the House again upon free debate if they please, for another southern conventicle would have the same obsequious band of northern men with southern principles, in obedience to the usages of the party to quibble away with equal complacency to them, the freedom of speech in the House, and the right of their constituents to petition.

My successive addresses to the House, on the fragments of the morning hour, from the 13th of June, when the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was presented, till the 7th of July the last morning hour of the session, were reported alternately for the National Intelligencer, by Mr. A. Stansbury and Mr. W. F. Otis, two of the most correct reporters ever admitted to the hall. But in the hurry of business, there was some transposition both of the order of time and of certain documents commented upon by me in the debate, which broke the links of connection between the several parts of my discourse, and threw its complicated, but not disjointed, argument into such confusion that no reader could, as it was published disentangle its unbroken thread.

Desirous that you, my constituents, should be fully informed of the manner in which I have fulfilled to the best of my ability the request of your convention of delegates, for my co-operation to promote the views exhibited in their resolutions of the 23d of August last, I have caused to be republished in a pamphlet, the whole debate upon the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the resolutions, petitions, memorials and remonstrances relating to the annexation of Texas to this Union. I propose to send a copy of this pamphlet to one or more persons in every town of this Congressional District. I wish them, and the people of this whole Commonwealth, and all the petitioners and remonstrants against the annexation to be apprized, that although that most pernicious measure has been for the present averted, and although the instigations to war with Mexico, by two successive Presidents of the United States, have hitherto proved abortive, it may yet require all your vigilance and all your lawful energies, eventually, to baffle and defeat the most insidious and profligate project of war and conquest, for the propagation and perpetuation of slavery, that ever disgraced any country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Quincy, 13th August, 1838.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:

Tuesday Morning, September 11, 1838.

IDENTITY OF MODERN AND ANCIENT ABOLITIONISM.

"*Modern Abolitionism!*" This phrase has grown very popular, since the use made of it by the Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1836. Since then, no scribbler or declaimer against abolitionism has failed to utter the magical phrase, without thinking that he had said a very keen thing. What a pity, that body of reverend gentlemen never thought of comparing *ancient* with *modern* abolitionism! *They* were all *ancient* abolitionists, *gen-u-ine* abolitionists of the *old* school. *They* were none of your "*modern* abolitionists," not they! They were for treating slavery after the pattern of *ancient* abolitionism—*ancient* abolitionism was so dignified, courteous, sweet and innocent! Why, gentlemen, if an *ancient* abolitionist should by chance drop into one of your grave assemblies, you would be sure to mistake him for an Orange Scott or a George Storrs. You know not whereof you affirm—you are no better acquainted with *ancient*, than *modern* abolitionism.

We intend to occupy the space we have allotted to ourselves this week, chiefly, in demonstrating the identity of these two forms of abolitionism, vainly imagined by our adversaries to be so dissimilar. We saw in a newspaper, the other day, the following advertisement.

"*There's nothing new under the Sun!*—The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer of August 8th, 1776, contains the following advertisement, which shows how early the abolition of Slavery was agitated in New England:

'Lately published, and now selling by Judah P. Spooner, at his printing office, near the store of Christopher Leffingwell, Esq., in Norwich, a Dialogue on the Slavery of the Africans; showing it to be the duty and interest of the American Colonies to emancipate all their African Slaves. With an address to the owners of such slaves. Dedicated to the Honorable the Continental Congress.'"

We happen to have in our possession a copy of this Dialogue, in which is also inserted some account of the Institution of the Society in New York, for promoting the manumission of Slaves. This Society, of which the Hon. John Jay was President, in 1785, ordered the printing of two thousand copies of the "Dialogue," and of course endorsed the doctrines and measures therein advocated. The little pamphlet therefore may fairly be quoted, as containing a correct expression of the views of that age with regard to slavery; a true exposition of *ancient* abolitionism. The Dialogue is sustained between "A." and "B."

"You Go Too Far."

"You go too far," said the objector to *ancient* abolitionism: "this is not the proper time to attend to the subject." A half-century has gone by; a new generation of anti-slavery men have sprung up,—they are the "*modern* abolitionists." "You go too far," cry their opponents; "this is not the proper time to attend to the subject." True, some seven slave states have been admitted into the Union, slaves have quadrupled their number, a large portion of the territory of the United States has been deliberately given up as an absolute possession of Slavery forever, and slave-holders have wrested from a friendly power a immense territory for the sake of opening a new slave-market. What of all this? Don't you see that, "*this is not the proper time to attend to the subject?*"

Nothing new under the sun"—read the following from the Dialo

"*A.* Sir, what do you think of the motion made by some among us, to free those *African* slaves? They say that our holding those blacks in slavery, we are in an open violation of the law of God, and as we are all sinners in the sight of heaven and expect to be saved, we cannot repent of our evil practices, and expect success in our struggle for [illegible] unless we repent, and make restitution to our poor fellow creatures. For part, I [illegible] *a proper time to attend to it*, while we are in such a state of war and distress, and affairs of much greater importance demand all our attention, and the utmost exertion of the public."

"B." talks like a *modern* abolitionist.

"*B.* Sir, I am glad you have introduced this subject, especially, as you own a number of these slaves. I shall attend to it with pleasure, and offer my sentiments upon it freely, expecting you will as freely propose the objections you shall have against any thing I shall advance. And I take leave here to observe, that if the slavery in which we hold the blacks, is wrong, it is a *great and crying public sin*, and therefore a sin which God is now testifying against *in the calamities He has brought upon us*, consequently must be reformed, before we can reasonably expect deliverance, or even sincerely ask for it. *It would be worse than nonsense then, to put off attention to this great duty, for the attention of attending to more important affairs.* This is acting like the mariner, who, when his ship is filling with water, neglects to stop the leak or ply the pump that he may hold his sails. There are at the lowest computation, 600,000 slaves in *British America*, including the *West India* islands; and a great part of these, are in the colonies on the continent. And if this is in every instance wrong, unrighteousness and oppression; it must be a very great and crying sin, *here being nothing of the kind in the whole face of the earth.* There are but few of these slaves, indeed in *New England*, compared with the vast numbers in the islands and the southern colonies; and they are treated much better on the continent, and especially among us, than they are in the *West Indies*. But if it be a sin at all, and a real oppression of the poor, helpless blacks, we by refusing to break this yoke, and let these injured creatures go free, *do practically justify and support this slavery in general, and make ourselves in a measure at least, answerable for the whole*: and we have no way to clear ourselves from the guilt of the whole, and bear proper testimony against this great evil, but by freeing all our slaves. Surely then, this matter admits of no delay; but demands our first, and most serious attention, and speedy reformation."

"B." recognized slavery as a national sin: so do we. He regarded it as a crime, calling for the infliction of the just judgments of God: so do we. He considered that New England, by refusing to give liberty to her few slaves, endorsed the entire system of slavery, wherever existing, and became answerable in a great measure for all its evils: this is precisely our doctrine. The whole nation, by refusing to let the slaves go free in the District of Columbia, gives its sanction and support to the principle and practice of slavery, every where, and becomes measurably answerable for all its train of fearful consequences. This is *ancient*, this is "*modern* abolitionism."

Slave-Trade Wrong, but Slavery Right.

Ancient pro-slavery is like modern pro-slavery; it is willing to admit that the slave-trade is wrong, but can see no harm in that which is identical with it in principle, and its legitimate offspring—Slavery. Hear "A."

"*A.* I acknowledge the *slave-trade*, as it has been carried on with the *Africans*, cannot be justified. But I am not yet convinced that it is wrong to keep those in perpetual bondage, who by this trade have been transported from *Africa* to us, and are become our slaves."

"B." then attempts a description of the horrors of the slave-trade, and at length concludes by exclaiming,—"But it is vain to attempt a full description of the oppression and cruel treatment these poor creatures receive constantly at the hands of their superiors, unmerciful, tyrannical, worse than Egyptian task-masters. Words cannot utter it." "A.," like a true modern pro-slavery man, somewhat disquieted by his own admissions, begins to palliate the villanous traffic.

One Blessing of the Slave-Trade.

"*A.* Sir, there is one important circumstance in favor of the slave-trade; or which will at least serve to counterbalance many of the evils you mention; and that is, *we bring these slaves from a heathen land to places of gospel light, and so put them under special advantages to be saved.*"

Ha! ha! ha! he is as merciful in his imaginings as Mr. Calhoun—he states the argument in favor of the slave-trade as fairly, as our friend-"P. T.," of the little Baltimore book, we noticed a few weeks since. Nothing new under the sun! "Well, don't you believe this plea entitled to some consideration?" Ask the masters—what say they? "Slaves can't take care of themselves—set them free, and they will cut our throats—they are mere wild beasts—it will not do to give them their liberty." What! not after having been disciplined for 50 years by kind *Christian* masters—living for 50 years under "gospel light"—enjoying for 50 years the "*special advantages*" of being taught how to behave themselves by a pious, righteous, republican people!

But let us have a part of "B."s answer.

"*B.* I know this has been mentioned by many in favor of the slave-trade: but when examined, will turn greatly against it. It can hardly be called Christian, and even to *New England*, so little pains are taken to instruct them in the things so much to prejudice them against Christianity, that it is a very great wonder, and owing to an extraordinary divine interposition, in which we may say, God goes out of his common way, that any of them should think favorably of christianity, and cordially embrace it. And as this is the case, it is no wonder they are unteachable, and get no good by the gospel; but have imbibed the deepest prejudices against it, from the treatment they receive from professed christians; prejudice which most of them are by their circumstances restrained from uttering while they are fixed in the strongest degree in their minds.

But if this was not the case, and slaves brought from *Africa*, were put under the best advantages to become Christians, and they were in circumstances that tended to give them a favorable idea of Christianity, and of the religion they professed; and though all concerned in this trade and in slavery in general, should have this wholly in view, viz. their becoming Christians, by which they should be eternally happy; yet this would not justify the slave-trade, or continuing them in a state of slavery. For to take this method to christianize them, would be a direct and gross violation of the laws of Christ. He commands us to go and preach the gospel to all nations; to carry the gospel to them, and not to go, and with violence bring them from their native country, without saying a word to them, or the nations from whom they are taken, about the gospel, or any thing that relates to it.

Some have been ignorant enough to attribute the restrictions imposed on the communication of knowledge to the slaves, to "*modern* abolitionism." They will learn from the foregoing, that those restrictions were in existence during the age of *ancient* abolitionism. Such restrictions spring from the very nature of slavery. This monster can only live by destroying the minds of its victims. Slave-holders from the beginning have been aware of this, and have succeeded but too well in the diabolical work of putting out the mental eyes o
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being brought from a heathen to a christian land.

Slanderous Charges of Ancient Abolitionism.

"*Modern abolitionism*" says, that slavery tends to make labor disreputable, to vitiate the character of the whites, to impoverish a country, and to overthrow republican institutions. So taught ancient abolitionism. Hear "B." and mark how "hard" his language, how he ventures to "slander" his southern brethren.

"As to other suggestions, viz. That the blacks are necessary to cultivate the soils in those hot climates, since the whites are not able to labor there, it may be observed, *that there is not the least evidence of this, but much of the contrary.* Whites are healthy, and do the labor in the East Indies, which blacks do in the West, in the same climate; and that to much greater advantage, of which authentic accounts have been published. The truth is, *most of the whites which are born in the southern states*, or the West Indies, *are not educated to labor, but, great part of them, is idle and intemperate.* The blacks are introduced to do the work, and it is thought a disgrace for a white person to get his living by labor. By this means, *the whites in general are vicious*, and all inferior such as *haughty and tyrannical* in spirit, by holding so many slaves, that they are *above labor*, and many of them, rather a plague than a blessing to all about them: And whole families are ruined for ever, by means of this slavery. Whereas, if African slaves had never been introduced, or this slavery were now abolished, and every man had his farm or plantation, no more than he could cultivate to the best advantage, by help of his children, and perhaps a few hired men; this would introduce industry, temperance and economy; the land would produce much more than it does now; and the country be filled with industrious, virtuous inhabitants, happy themselves, and blessings to all around them, instead of the comparatively few families now, *many of which are a burden to the earth, and a disgrace to human nature.*—This brings the words of Solomon fresh in mind, Eccl. viii, 9. "There is a time, when one man ruleth over another *to his own hurt.*"

We cannot hesitate to say, this sage observation is verified in the most striking manner, and to the highest degree, in the slavery under consideration. If it is *inconsistent with republican principles*, and *tends to overthrow the liberty of those states*, and introduce monarchy and tyranny, to have such slavery tolerated among us, and so many petty sovereigns and lords, ruling over a number of vassals with despotic sway. Their children naturally imbibe those arbitrary principles, and grow up as unfit to be useful members of those free, republican states, as do the children of the most haughty monarchs on the globe. And those men rule over themselves to their own hurt. "So misery and ruin of their families, temporal and EternAL.

But if it should still be thought by any, or it be in fact true, that those climates cannot be cultivated by whites; let it be remembered, that this is no justification of the horrid slave-trade, and slavery now practiced: But it is a good reason why the whites should abandon the places where they cannot live, unless it be on the blood of others, as good as themselves; and renounce the business which is carried on in the exercise of so much unrighteousness and cruelty. *If the blacks only can labor there, the lands are theirs, by right, and they ought to be allowed to possess them, as freemen*, and enjoy the fruit of their labor."

Ancient Abolitionism said that the Partaker was as Bad as the Thief.

"*Modern abolitionism*" teaches that every hour the master withholds from the slave his liberty, he inflicts upon him a grievous wrong; that if the slave-trade be sinful, slavery must be sinful; that the partaker is as bad as the thief; that the fact that a human being has been robbed of his liberty and made a slave, gives no one a right to purchase or hold him as such; that holding the negroes in slavery is not only a practical justification of the slave-trade, but actually encourages and promotes it; that the only certain method of putting an end to this bloody traffic, is to abolish slavery; that there is a palpable inconsistency in resolving to import and buy no more slaves, and yet refusing to let those go free, whom we have already enslaved; and that we ought not only to give slaves their liberty, but *compensate* them for the injuries we have done them, so far as we are able. "Modern abolitionism" too, places *slavery* in the same category, with *robbery*. *Ancient* abolitionism taught all these things, with equal earnestness and frankness. Here is the proof.

"*A.* All this seems to be little to the purpose; since it was granted in the beginning of our conversation, that the slave-trade, as it has been carried on, is not to be justified. But what is this to the question we proposed to consider; which is, Whether it be wrong to hold the blacks we have among us in a state of slavery, or ought to set them free without delay? To this you have said nothing as yet.

B. All I have said upon the slave-trade, to show the unrighteousness, the cruelty, the murder, the opposition to Christianity and the spread of the gospel among the *Africans*, the destruction of whole nations, and myriads of souls, which are consequent on this iniquitous practice, has been principally with a view to a more clear and satisfactory determination of the question before us, which you have now repeatedly proposed.—For I think the following proposition may be safely advanced as undeniable, viz. *If the slave-trade be unjustifiable and wrong, then consequently the Africans and their children in bondage, is unjustifiable and wrong, and the latter is criminal in some proportion to the inexpressible baseness and crim nality of the former.* For,

First, If they have been brought into a state of slavery, by unjustifiable violence, they having never forfeited their liberty, or given any one a right to enslave and sell them, then purchasing them of these piratical tyrants, and holding them in the same state of bondage and misery, contrary to all right have brought them, *as continuing the exercise of the same unrighteous violence and oppression upon them.* They have yet as much a right to their liberty as ever they had and to demand it of him who holds them in bondage; and he denies them their right, which is of more worth to them than every thing else: They can have in the world, and in the strongest manner claim our compassion, and therefore appear them in a very high degree every *hour he refuses or neglects to set them at liberty.* Besides,

Secondly, Holding these blacks in a state of slavery, is *a practical justification of the slave-trade*, and so brings the guilt of it, more or less, home to us, who are partakers in the iniquity, as to hold one of these a slave, who was unrighteously made so by the sons of violence. The old adage, The partaker is as bad as the thief, carries such a plain truth in it, that every one must discern it: *And it is a principle of first truth and importance.*

It is impossible to buy one of these blacks and detain him a slave, without partaking with him who first committed his this sin, and put it in his power to possess him, and practically justifying him for so doing, so as to make *good* the *Africans* first right to him. It must therefore be impossible for any of our *slave-keepers* to justify themselves in what they are doing, *unless they can justify the slave trade.* If they fail here, they bring on themselves an *awful degree of the guilt of the whole.*

Thirdly, By keeping those slaves, and buying and selling them, they *actually encourage and promote the slave-trade.* And therefore, in this view, keeping slaves, and continuing to buy and sell them, is to bring on us the guilt of the slave-trade, which is hereby supported, *For as long as slaves are bought and possessed, and in demand, so long the African trade will be supported and encouraged.*

A. But there is a stop put to the importation of slaves into the *American* Colonies, as they have resolved no more shall be brought. This being the case, the keeping those we have among us in slavery, is no encouragement to the slave-trade.

B. I grant, if this resolution should be perpetual, and extend to the *West Indies*, it would discourage the slave-trade; so far as the *American* colonies are concerned in it. But it would be more effectually discountenanced and discouraged if slavery was wholly abolished; and it cannot be consistently done without this. For it it be wrong to import and buy them *now*, it was *always* wrong, and therefore they that are already slaves among us, are injured, and unjustly enslaved: and we have made them our slaves without the least right: and we ought to retract it, and repair the injury done to them, so far as is in our power, by setting them free, and *compensating them otherwise*, so far as we are able. There is therefore a palpable inconsistency in refusing to import and buy no more slaves, and yet refusing to let those go free, which we have already enslaved, unless there be some unspeakable impediment in the way.

To the whole I have said concerning the unlawfulness of keeping the blacks in a state of slavery, in the trade by which they have become our slaves be unlawful, may be illustrated by the following example.

A number of robbers invade a certain province and took off most of their goods and effects, and carried them to a distant country. Some of those robbers, disposed to be satisfied with their booty, and the robbery being at an end, settled in the country, and the masters of the blacks in general, would not suffer any such practice to take place. At length on account of his inward sense and conviction of the manner they are so that is supposes it is [illegible] hic these robbers would give a right to what they had by jaken from them. But the people in whose possession the stolen goods were found, utterly refused to deliver them up to the injured people who demanded them. Those told them, they had indeed been greatly injured and robbed, must condemn the robbers as very criminal indeed in what they had done. But as they now kept them and took them in possession, they intended to keep them and hold them on themselves under the obligation to deliver them to the owners, and would protect them in it. For they thought they suffered so much, and would [illegible] enough for want of them. And they intended not to own all the robbers should bring to them.

To this the injured replied. It is unlawful and unreasonable in you to receive the goods of us or any others, knowing them to be receiving the goods of us or any others, knowing them to be stolen, and must share with them in their guilt. For by the means you encourage them, as far as you intend to go out to encourage them to the violence and injustice they have practiced upon us. Therefore you must restore the goods we demand, and receive nothing for them, or any thing taken from us in exchange.

Upon this they determined, that they knew no such thing, refused to deliver up what they had in possession, and told the injured people, that they would not suffer them to take any thing from them by force.

Now this case is parallel to the slaves and their masters. The slaves are the injured people, who have been robbed of their liberty, and the masters are the people in whose possession the goods are found, and who have received them knowing them to be stolen. But the injured people, the slaves, are not to be satisfied with their conduct

who shall be set at liberty, on account of the severities of their treatment or for, that she had all the comforts of life, and died better.

What would not this be to us? Were we only our children enabled to make slaves for ever! least excuse for the ... provide for themselves living as we ... capacities and ... mental capacities and ... of this exception ... and this be ... ourselves ... ing, inhumane ... plicable to the ... be ... a ... measure ...

But I must now ... back, what was just now ... your treatment of your ... that every man ... them very well, who ... constant way they ... being really subjected to many hardships, which you would very sensibly feel and resent, if you were in their place, or ... a dream of horror, and pronounced them very unreasonable and barbarous; while the master, and others of ... thought they were used well, being accustomed to such usage, and never once reflecting that these ... were born in the same ... with themselves, or that they have the least right to the treatment which people are reasonably expect of one another; and being habituated to view these slaves more beneath themselves, than the very beasts really are. And are we not, most of us, educated in the grossest ... of these ... among us, in such a mean, despicable light, as not to be sensible of the abuse they suffer; when, if we or our children should receive such treatment, from any of our fellow men, it would appear terrible in the extreme? The Turks are by education and custom taught to view the Christian slaves with whom they live much beneath themselves, and in such an odious light, that while they are treating our brethren and children, we being judges, in the most ... and cruel manner, they have not one thought that they injure ... so, but rather the reverse.

Are you sure your slaves have a sufficiency of good food, in season; and that they never want for comfortable clothing and bedding? Do you take great care to deal as well by them in sickness, as in health? Do you never neglect to treat your own children, were they slaves in a strange land? Are our servants complain, are you ready to attend to them? Or do you in such cases frown upon them, or do something worse, as ... them for ... applying to you, whatever they may suffer, having learned that this would be only making bad worse? Do you never fly into a passion, and deal with them in great anger, deciding matters respecting them, and threatening them, and giving sentence concerning them, from the dictates of ... and not from ... to correct them, when to a calm by-stander you appear more fit to be confined in Bedlam, than to have the sovereign, uncontrollable dominion over your brethren, as the sole lawgiver, judge, and executioner? Do not you ... your children ... over your slaves? Must they not often see the ... beck of an ungoverned, peevish child in the family; and if they do not run at his or her call, and are not all submission to your humour, even ... they not expect the frowns of their masters, if not the whip?

If none of these things, my good Sir, take place in your family, have we not reason to think you almost a singular instance? How common are things of this kind, or worse, among our fellow creatures? Is there a contradiction to all reason, and the strongest feelings of human nature, than for any man to look upon his property, and wholly at his ... dispose of their ... sentence and orders, however unreasonable, without any possibility of relief?

3. I believe my slaves are so far from thinking themselves abused or ill used by me, that they look upon me as a very ... master, and as their ... friend. (if we believe what they say,) who please themselves with this fond opinion of their goodness to their slaves; and their choice of a state of slavery, in preference to freedom, without the least foundation for it. Whereas their tyranny is known to be true by all who are acquainted with their slaves. And if they really believe this, they by it only discover great insensibility, and want of proper reflection. They have not so much as put themselves in the place of their slaves, so as properly and duly to consider and reflect upon what they would be their own feelings, on such a supposition. Have they themselves lost all desire of freedom? Are they destitute of all taste of the sweets of it; and have they no aversion to slavery, for themselves, or their children? And why these feelings, what reason have they to conclude their servants have not?

But it seems most of these masters do not fully believe what they so often say on this head: For they have never made the trial; nor can they be persuaded to do it. Let them offer freedom to their servants, and give them opportunity to choose for themselves, without being under the most distant constraint. And if they then deliberately choose to continue their slaves, the matter will be fully decided, and they may proceed with their conduct towards them, without a declare their choice, lest it should offend him, and instead of obtaining their freedom, bring themselves into a more evil case than they were in before, as the children of Israel did, by murmuring ... to them.

In this case such precaution ought to be taken, as to give the slaves proper assurance that they may without any danger to themselves, declare their choice of freedom: and that it shall be done to them according to their choice.

Ancient Abolitionists have Nothing of Graduation or Colonization.

"A." objects that the "slaves, if emancipated, cannot take care of themselves." The answer of "B." is full of *"modern abolitionism." Gradualism* is not in all his thoughts—the honor of this lucky discovery was reserved for the *ancient* abolitionists of *this generation*. The degradation and ignorance of the slave, which furnish to the slaveholder a plea for perpetuating slavery, and to the gradualist of the nineteenth century, a reason for maintaining slavery until the victims be prepared for freedom, constituted the chief reasons with *ancient* abolitionists for urging its abolition *at once*. Where now are the foes of *"modern abolitionists"?* Shame upon their ignorance!

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"A state of slavery has a mighty tendency to sink and contract the minds of men, and prevent their making any improvement in useful knowledge of every kind: it sinks the mind down in darkness and despair; it takes off encouragements to activity, and to make improvements, and naturally tends to lead the enslaved to abandon themselves to a stupid carelessness, and a view of all kinds. No wonder then that blacks, generally, as are, many of them, so destitute of prudence and sagacity to act for themselves; and some are given to vice. It is rather a wonder, there are so many instances of virtue, prudence, knowledge and industry among them, as there are, because we have reduced them to this abject, helpless, miserable state, by our oppression of them, made this an argument for continuing them and their children in this wretched condition? God forbid! This ought rather to excite our pity, and arouse us to take some effectual method to restore them and their children from this most unhappy state. If our own children were

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*But this will by ... no right to make slaves of their children, even if the parents themselves should expressly consent to it; for the parent can have no right to sell the liberty of his children.

in this situation, would you offer this as a good reason why they and their posterity ... to make slaves for ever? Were some ... children ... provide for themselves through infirmity ... mental capacities ... others of them were very ... would not have them sold into a state of slavery for this? ... would you make slaves of them yourself? Would you not be willing to take the best care of them in your power, and ... all possible encouragement to believe ... they might be ... and become proper members of ... a living? I know you would. And why will you not go and do likewise to your slaves? Why will you not take off the galling yoke from their necks, and restore them to that liberty, to which they have as good a claim as you yourself and your children; and which has been violently taken from them, and unjustly withheld by you to this day! If any of them are disposed to believe ill, and make a bad use of their freedom, let them have all the motives to behave well that can be laid before them. Let them be subject to the same restraints and laws with other freemen; and have the same care taken of them by the public to do. And is not the good soul assist those who want their own children; and as willing to support the helpless, infirm and aged. And give all proper encouragement and assistance to those who served you well, and are like to get a good living, if not put under constraint, by their former masters. There are but few masters of slaves, I believe, who do not use them in a hard, unreasonable manner, in some instances at least; and most do so in a constant way; so that an impartial, disinterested person would be shocked with it, while the master is wholly insensible of any wrong. They who from us have visited the West Indies, have beheld how servants are used by their masters there, with a degree of horror, and pronounced them very unreasonable and barbarous; while the master, and others of ... thought they were used well, being accustomed to such usage, and never once reflecting that these ... were born in the same ... with themselves, or that they have the least right to the treatment which people are reasonably expect of one another; and being habituated to view these slaves more beneath themselves, than the very beasts really are. And are we not, most of us, educated in the grossest ... of these ... among us, in such a mean, despicable light, as not to be sensible of the abuse they suffer; when, if we or our children should receive such treatment, from any of our fellow men, it would appear terrible in the extreme? The Turks are by education and custom taught to view the Christian slaves with whom they live much beneath themselves, and in such an odious light, that while they are treating our brethren and children, we being judges, in the most ... and cruel manner, they have not one thought that they injure ... so, but rather the reverse.

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* God is so ordering it in his Providence, that it seems absolutely necessary something should speedily be done with respect to the slaves among us, in order to our safety, and to prevent their turning against us in our present struggle, in order to get their liberty. Our oppressors have planted them in our country, and obliged them to take up arms against us, by promising them liberty, on this condition; and this plan they are prosecuting to the utmost of their power, by which means they have persuaded numbers to join them. And we ought to restrain them by force and severity, keeping a strict guard over them, and punishing them severely, who shall be detected in attempting to join our oppressors; this will only be making bad worse, and more to their condemnation, oppression and cruelty, more criminal, pernicious and shocking, and bring down the relentless vengeance of Heaven on our heads. The only way pointed out to prevent this threatening evil, is to set the blacks at liberty ourselves, by some public acts and laws; and then give them proper encouragement to labor, or take arms in defence of the American cause, as they shall choose. This would at once be doing them some degree of justice, and defeating our enemies in the scheme they are prosecuting.

This objection might be urged with much greater show of reason by the inhabitants of Jerusalem against freeing their servants when they were not only in a state of war, but shut up, and closely besieged in that city; yet we find it was their duty to free them immediately, as the only way to escape threatened destruction; and as soon as they had done this, they had respite, and would be obtained a final deliverance, had they not returned to their old oppression, and again brought their freed servants into bondage.

Let those who plead for slavery, or oppressors are come upon us in such a way, and the occasion of the present war is such, as in the most clear and striking manner to point out the sin of holding our blacks in slavery, and admonish us to reform, and render ourselves acceptable to him with ourselves, and amazingly guilty if we refuse. God has raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the evil we are threatened with is slavery. This, with vigorous attempts to avoid it, is the ground of all our cries, fears and the general voice is, "We will die in the attempt, rather than submit to slavery." But are we at the same time making slaves of many thousands of our brethren, who have as good a right to liberty as ourselves, and in whom it is as sweet a thing to them, and the contrary as dreadful? Are we hold them in the most abject, miserable state of slavery, without the least compassionate feeling towards them or their posterity; utterly refusing to take off the oppressive yoke from their necks? Why, this is inconsistent conduct indeed! And this gross, barefaced inconsistence, is an open practical condemnation of holding these our brethren in slavery; and in these circumstances the crime of persisting in it is exceedingly aggravated and more provoking in the sight of God's sight; so that all the former unrighteousness and cruelty exercised in this practice, is innocence, compared with the awful guilt that is now contracted. And in allusion to the words of our Saviour, it may with great truth and propriety be said, "If he had not this come in his Providence, and spoken unto us, (comparatively speaking) we had not had sin, in making bond slaves of our brethren; but now we have no cloak for our sin."

And if we continue in this evil practice, and refuse to let the oppressed go free, under all this light and admonition, suited to convince and reform us; and while God is evidently correcting us for it, as well as for other sins, have we not reason to expect destruction from the calamities we are under? May we not rather look for slavery and destruction, like that which came upon the obstinate, unreformed Jews? In this light, I think, it ought to be considered by those who plead for the continuance of slavery, as another argument, not to put off liberating our slaves to a more convenient time; but to arise, all as one man, and do it with all our might, *without delay* since delaying in this case is awfully dangerous, as well as unspeakably criminal. This was hinted in the beginning of the convention, when I was a member, and I am glad of an opportunity to consider it more particularly.

For I have repeatedly spoken of the attempt that is made to oppress and enslave the *American* colonies, and the calamities this has introduced, as a judgement which God has brought upon us for enslaving the *Africans*, and say we have no reason to expect deliverance, but still greater judgments, unless this practice is given up. But is not this supposition inconsistent with the course of Divine Providence since this war began? Have we not been strengthened and succeeded in our opposition to the measures taken against us, beyond our most sanguine expectations? And what a series of events, very extraordinary, and almost miraculous, have taken place in our favor, and so as remarkably to disappoint our opposers, and baffle them in all their plots and attempts against us. How can this consistently with the above supposition? If these calamities are brought on us for our sin in enslaving the *Africans*, and the expression of God's displeasure with us on that account, would he in such a signal manner appear on our side, and favor, protect and prosper us; even so that those who were most forward to promote the war, and active, have been obliged to acknowledge God was for us; I say, could this be, while we persist in that practice so offensive to him?

But I speak of our being under the divine judgments for this sin of enslaving the *Africans*, I do not mean to exclude other public crying sins found among us, as impiety and profaneness—formality and indifference in the cause of God, and his religion—and the various ways of opposition to it—intemperance and prodigality; and other instances of unrighteousness, &c., the fruits of a *most criminal contracted selfishness*, which is the *source* of the *high-handed oppression* we are considering. But this is a sin most particularly pointed out, as one we are to look up to religion in every view of it, and such an open violation of all the laws of righteousness, humanity, and charity, and so contrary to our professions and exertions in the cause of liberty, that we have no reason to expect deliverance, and ask deliverance, so long as we continue in a disposition to hold fast this iniquity. If we should be delivered while we continue in this evil practice, and obstinately refuse thoroughly to execute judgment to every man and to his neighbor, but go on to *oppress the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow*, we should, agreeably to the spirit of what you have just said, improve such deliverance, as God said, the Jews would have done, had he delivered them, while they refused to reform. "Then," says he, "shall they come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these abominations!" Surely this is not to be expected or desired. Surely the prayer for such deliverance must be an abomination to the Lord.

But your objection is worthy of a more particular answer; —It has been observed, that there has been a general resolution to suppress the slave trade, and to encourage a man and

POETRY.

Ode for the First of August,

Written at the request of the Printers of New York, by SAMUEL WOODWORTH, Printer,

Tune—Marseloise Hymn.

O'er regal domes, renown'd in story,
The trinal banner proudly waves,
And France resumes the march of glory,
Her gallant sons no longer slaves.
With tyrants vainly bad they plodded—
But when the PRESS in thunder spoke,
It burst their chains with lightning-stroke,
And peace and liberty succeeded.

CHORUS.

Then swell the choral strain,
To hail the blest decree,
Rejoice! Rejoice! the PRESS shall reign,
And all the world be free.

The following also, was written on the same occasion; and its solemn denunciations and prophetic warnings may well make *American* oppressors tremble.

Celebration Ode.

BY PASSEUR M. WETMORE, Esq.

A voice on every wave,
A sound o'er every sea!
The war-note of the brave—
The anthem of the free!
From steep to steep it rings,
Through Europe's many climes—
A knell to despot Kings,
A sentence on their crimes,
From every giant hill, companion of the cloud,
The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud:
Where'er a wind is rushing—
Where'er a stream is gushing—
The swelling sounds are heard,
Of man to freeman calling—
Of broken fetters falling—
And, like the carol of an unegged bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom's battle-word!

Spirit of Freedom! from thy home,
Beneath our western skies,
We gave thee forth the shackled earth to roam—
That red oppression's heart might quail,
And shuddering tyranny grow pale,
Before the lightning of thine eyes!
Thy course hath been a glorious one—
For nations now are basking in thy light,
That, ere the trial, deed was done,
Were grovellers in being's night.
Upstarting from their sleep,
They grasp the dooming brand,
And, vengeance-nerved, the spoilers sweep
From off the trampled land;
They give them not to death—contempt can punish more:
But frowningly and stern they wave them from the shore.

From the North's frozen regions,
Ice-fettered in gloom—
Where slavery's legions
Are wailing their doom;
From Italy's clime,
The brightest of earth—
Where man lives in crime,
Polluted from birth;
From Spain's death-like trance,
And from Portugal's blight;
We turn to thee, France!
And we turn with delight,
Where the eyes of our fathers were turned—
To the land of the warm-hearted Gaul!
Where dimly the flame on their altar-stones burned
And their hopes were as dark as the pall—
To the land of the noble in soul,
The mighty in spirit and name,
Where vengeance hath listened to reason's control,
And the doom of the tyrant was—shame!
Oh! deeper and darker that doom, than if blood
Had been poured o'er regenerate France like a flood!

* * * *

Spirit of Freedom! on—
Oh! pause not in thy flight,
Till every clime is won
To worship in thy light;
Speed on thy glorious way,
And wake the sleeping lands—
Millions are watching for thy ray,
And lift to thee their hands;
Still, onward! be thy cry—
The banner on the blast—
And like a tempest as thou rushest by,
Despots shall shrink aghast;
On! till thy name is known
Throughout the peopled earth,
On! till thou reign'st alone
Man's heritage by birth;
On! till from every vale, and where the mountains rise,
The beacon lights of Liberty shall kindle to the skies.

Lines Written in the Album of a Young Lad.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

We have been permitted, without the knowledge of the gifted author of the following beautiful stanzas, to copy them for publication, and take great pleasure in presenting them to our readers.—*Eds. Her. & Sent.*

To A. L. P., Jr.

The waxy pen which shrinks from tracing
A fine upon the gilded page,
Which beauty and which fashion proffers—
The trifle of a trifling age;—

Where Bards whose lips have never tasted
The gushing fount of Helicon,
Mar with their vain and love-sick fancies
The virgin sheet they scrawl upon;—

Where Flattery holds the glass for Beauty,
And love is linked in Folly's hand,
And Reason, Truth, and Wit are scarcer
Than fruit or flower in desert land;—

Where every coxcomb, who can copy
A page of rhymes, appends his name—
Looks proudly on his stolen verses—
A pilfering candidate for fame!—

That pen is now with pleasure sweeping
The humble page of modest youth,
Whose Flattery's wing has never shadowed
The beauty of the Brow of Truth.

Then mind't no of the days departed—
The haunts of home—the simple joy—
The trustful quietude of spirit—
The hopes—loves—friendships of the boy!

Alas! for those calm-hearted moments!
No throbbing brow—no pulse of pain—
But instinct took the place of Duty,
And Love, not Reason, held the rein.

A sterner lot our Manhood bringeth—
The wrestling down of passions strong—
The chastening of a haughty spirit—
The constant warfare with the wrong!

Yet on our pathway, wild and rugged,
Our Heavenly Father scatters flowers,
Cool fountains gush in sun and shadow,
And Muse fills the way-side bowers.

For He, who loveth all, hath given
Strength equal to our weary day
And, when the path we tread is darkest,
Lends to our feet His guiding ray!

And on thy vision smile no longer
The fruits and flowers of Paradise,
When all the outward rests in shadow
And storm and darkness flood the sky—
The peace of heart which no man giveth
May, dove-like, in thy bosom lie.

So shall it on evil's turmoil, trial,
Know in thine heart a refuge sure
Than that which now within encloses
The high born of a cheerful boy.

A pure and stainless conscience giving
Life's Autumnal freshness of Spring!
The blessing of the Heavenly Father,
Thy shield and stay, and shelt'ring wing!

Philadelphia, 4th, Mo. 14th, 1838. J. G. W.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CORRESPONDENT PERIODIC CIRCULAR OF THE COLLEGE OF TEACHERS.

The Annual Convention of the College of Teachers will be held on the first Monday in the ensuing October, 1838, in Cincinnati.

The Executive Committee in the discharge of their duty, beg leave to invite your attendance and co-operation. Impressed with a deepened sense of the immeasurable importance of an early and thorough development and progressive culture of the intellectual and moral powers of juvenile minds, of rational and accountable beings—who are to constitute the succeeding generation, and to whose free agency is to be committed their individual, social, and political destiny—they wish to lay open the views and the objects which have animated them with ardor in the progress of their course, as well as the encouraging success which has hitherto resulted from their earnest efforts to promote extensively and enduringly, the glorious and hallowed cause of patriotism, philanthropy, and religion.

Experience in the profession of teaching has abundantly confirmed them in the persuasion that the human mind without cultivation resembles the earth on which we tread; from which, with all the variety of soil and exposure to varied temperature, we might in vain expect rich crops of life-sustaining grain and fruit, without previous preparation and fostering care; so in the intellectual field, equally vain were it to expect that maturity—of sound mental discrimination—of those refined sympathies which endear cultivated society—of that moral elevation which "rises and looks down upon the law"—and of that permanent bond of order, equal rights, and mutual good feeling ensured by a wise, chosen, and faithfully administered free government, can be obtained, without the aid of early instruction and discipline, and the sustaining control of competent and faithful educators. To provide such educators, as the most essential means of promoting the interests of education, has been from the first, and continues to be, the earnest object of their solicitude, and their ardent aim.

This institution owes its origin to a few devoted professional Teachers, who in 1833 united for the purpose "of promoting by every laudable means the diffusion of knowledge in regard to education," and "especially by aiming to elevate the character and profession of Teachers to their just, intellectual and moral influence on the community," and though feeble were its first efforts, yet time in its course has accelerated their progress, by awakening and enlisting the energies of gifted minds throughout the Mississippi Valley, and in several contiguous states, each successive anniversary has exhibited the gratifying spectacle of literary and scientific talent arduously engaged in the most interesting discussions on the best practical methods of eliciting and diffusing the benefits of sound tuition and moral discipline; and we are encouraged to look forward with sanguine expectation to the continued increase of qualified and judicious instructors, whose united and well directed efforts shall train up a rising community to the stability of enlightened and exemplary freemen—guardians and perpetuators of our republican liberties.

Not only the intellectual and moral elevation or degradation; in the present life, but their inevitable consequences—the essential and permanent welfare or wretchedness in a life to come—of millions, are involved in their wisdom or their folly!

What stronger motive to effort—what more powerful stimuli to a generous expansion of human sympathies—what more ennobling inducement to the most strenuous exertions—can be presented than such considerations?

Let us, then, unite our efforts, fellow laborers, in the high and holy aim of sowing the seeds and nurturing the plants, which, with the blessing of the Infinite Father of minds and of mercies, may ripen into a rich harvest of intelligence, virtue and happiness.

By order of the Executive Committee.
ALBERT PICKET, Sen., *President.*

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION.

The Portland Transcript contains the following interesting statistics of the means of education throughout the United States.

About one-third of the population of the country are between the ages of 3 and 16 and 18, and of course are the proper subjects for school education.

In the United States more than four millions of children ought to be under the influence of schools.

In Maine, the law requires that the inhabitants of every town pay annually for the support of schools a sum equal at least to every person living in it. That amounts to about $120,000. Their expenditures are more than $140,000.

In New Hampshire, a separate tax of $90,000 is raised for schools, besides an annual appropriation from a tax on bank stock of $10,000.

In Vermont, more than $50,000 are raised for schools from a third per cent. tax on the grand list, and as much more from district taxes, besides an income of nearly $1000 from banks.

In Massachusetts there are nearly 3000 schools supported by public taxes and private subscriptions.

In Boston, the schools contain more than 12,000 children at an expense of $200,000.

In Rhode Island are about seven hundred schools supported by a legislative appropriation of $10,000 annually, by taxes and private subscriptions.

The Connecticut fund is about $2000,000, but fails of its desired object. Children in the state, 85,000—schools about 1500.

In New York are more than 9000 schools, and over 500,000 children taught in them. School fund, $1,700,000, distributed annually $100,000, but on the condition that each town raise by tax or otherwise as much as they receive from the fund.

New Jersey has a fund of $670,000, and an annual income of 22,000.

In Pennsylvania, during the last year, more than 250,000 children out of 400,000 were destitute of school instruction.

Delaware has a school fund of $70,000.

Maryland has a fund of $78,000 and an income for schools from taxes, &c., of $100,000 between the several counties.

Virginia has a fund of $1,828,000, the income of which is divided among the counties according to the white population, and appropriated for the tuition of poor children at such schools attending private schools.

North Carolina has a fund of $70,000, designed for common schools.

South Carolina has a fund of $428,000. This is not available until it amounts to $800,000.

The Legislature of Louisiana grants to each parish or county in the state $2,622 for each voter.

FIRE-HOT EDUCATION.

The author of Peter Parley's Tales has in the course of conversation with a friend, made some remarks which are rather odd, but contain much truth. The following extract is from one of them:

"The Fire-hot — As the subject seems to be common, because the only one about which all discovers some resemblance that never ceases even in sleep, there is one sense that has never been spoken of. It is owned by some nurses among a guardian angel second only to God's care. It is said, and sometimes apart from a warning of hunger, when it is not the case, to remind it it hopes the caresses of its parents are as well as, and as the better than the unnatural love. Her presence is no better. The affection is party or sensual.

"Now, called the a moment upon the impossible, the same reasonableness of the true being and consider the universal and guarding of the first day that is announced to the house. Consider, with what solemnity, with what hope, so loved, so supported, so cherished is spent. Then